

Record: 1

Title: Flemish immigration in wallonia and in france:. Patronymes as Data

Authors: Poulain, Michel
Foulon, Michel
Degioanni, Anna
Darlu, Pierre

Source: In The History of the Family 2000 5(2):227-241

Publisher: Elsevier Inc.

Abstract: Flemish emigration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is too complex to be dealt with definitively in a single article. Our main objective is to provide an overview of the migration towards France and Wallonia by looking at its chronology, and the spatial distribution of emigrants and their descendants. In this effort, patronym distribution is very helpful. As markers of migratory movements, patronyms from a collection of nominative lists give us a handle on migration flows as no other evidence can. Comparing France and Wallonia, the two destination areas, it is possible to see similarities between types of migrants: workers in heavy industry, workers in the agricultural sector, and workers engaged in domestic services. In addition, three phases may be identified in the arrival of a Flemish population in France and Wallonia: an emigration phase, an integration phase, and a redistribution phase. The last phase is also part of the urbanization process and is linked with upward social mobility.

Document Type: Article

ISSN: 1081-602X

DOI: 10.1016/S1081-602X(00)00035-X

Accession Number: S1081602X0000035X

Copyright: Copyright © 2000 Elsevier Science Inc. All rights reserved.

Database: ScienceDirect

FLEMISH IMMIGRATION IN WALLONIA AND IN FRANCE: PATRONYMS AS DATA

ABSTRACT: Flemish emigration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is too complex to be dealt with definitively in a single article. Our main objective is to provide an overview of the migration towards France and Wallonia by looking at its chronology, and the spatial distribution of emigrants and their descendants. In this effort, patronym distribution is very helpful. As markers of migratory movements, patronyms from a collection of nominative lists give us a handle on migration flows as no other evidence can. Comparing France and Wallonia, the two destination areas, it is possible to see similarities between types of migrants: workers in heavy industry, workers in the agricultural sector, and workers engaged in domestic services. In addition, three phases may be identified in the

arrival of a Flemish population in France and Wallonia: an emigration phase, an integration phase, and a redistribution phase. The last phase is also part of the urbanization process and is linked with upward social mobility.

FLANDERS AND THE FLEMISH PEOPLE

Flanders is a region that covers all the Northern part of Belgium. It stands between Maastricht and Lille, and includes five Belgian provinces from East to West (Figure 1): Limburg next to Maastricht and Dutch Limburg, the Brabant (Antwerp and Flemish Brabant provinces), which extend in the North to the Dutch Brabant, and Flanders as such (Eastern Flanders and Western Flanders provinces), which is next to the French Flanders. Hasselt, Antwerp, Mechelen, Ghent, Kortrijk, Brugge, and Oostend are the principal towns of this region, and they currently have more than five million inhabitants. Dutch, formerly Flemish, is the spoken language, by contrast with Wallonia, in the South of Belgium, which is French speaking. Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is governed by a bilingual statute, with a majority of Frenchspeaking persons inserted in the Flemish territory. The situation of Brussels is linked to major migration flows originating in Wallonia between 1830 and 1960.

It is the secular dimensions of the Flemish emigration in the direction of Wallonia and France that is of interest. To investigate it, we will make use of the patronyms carried by the migrants, which differ from the patronyms found in the region that received them. The patronyms and their distribution in space will be useful as indicators of migration patterns. Studies reconstructing with precision the paths of the migrants and their motivations might yield more precise explanations. It is clear, however, that an approach through patronyms is virtually the only one that can yield an overall view of the magnitude of this emigration, and of the spatial distribution of the destinations of the migrants. At the same time, a detailed analysis of the migratory paths of specific populations, and the overall approach developed here using patronyms, are complementary and supplement each other.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: FROM THE FLANDERS' ECONOMIC CRISIS TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Because of the cities of Brugge, Ghent, Mechelen, and Antwerp, Flanders made great economic and cultural strides during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly under the reigns of Charles V and of the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella. But Flanders, a densely populated area, which had flourished because of the rural linen industry and other textiles, became a place of emigration unprecedented for Belgium during the past centuries.

Let us briefly consider the following facts. Starting in 1837, the linen industry, which was widespread particularly in the countryside of both Eastern and Western Flanders provinces, began to slow down because of the absence of outlets for its products (Jacquemyns 1929). The mechanization of looms elsewhere and English competition was fatal for the 250,000 or so Flandrians working in a home industry that was using antiquated equipment. Moreover, the 1845 potato harvest was affected by a crop disease, and it was disastrous; in the year 1846, it was so for all crops. The rural population was too dense--400 inhabitants per square kilometer, and ever more than that in some areas near the Lys and the Schelde. For these persons, the main staple in their diet was the potato, and the combination of an unfavorable economic situation and food shortages produced the most important demographic crisis in Belgium since it became independent in 1831. The total population of both Eastern and Western Flanders decreased between 1846 and 1856. However, the rise of mortality and the fall of fertility alone cannot explain the decrease. The major fact that was responsible for this

decrease was a massive emigration (Kitell 1967).

The combined effects of demographic pressures and of a stagnant economy were the basis of this massive emigration. At the individual level and within the scope of family strategies, however, it was the economic factor that explained most of emigrants' motivation. Usually, the hope of better wages or of work as such was sufficient to override the obstacle of distance in migration--especially of migration of more than 50 kilometers--and override as well the difficulties of adjusting to cultural circumstances that were quite different.

WHERE WOULD THE FLEMISH EMIGRANTS GO?

To produce a significant migration flow, there have to be compelling Reasons to leave the home region, and in terms of what we have explained here, such reasons did exist in Flanders in the middle of the nineteenth century. But there also has to be strong attraction, because people need to be convinced that better living conditions exist elsewhere.

Where would the Flemish emigrants go? Jacquemyns (1929), looking at the *Journal de Bruges*, found that between January 1 and August 15, 1846, 200 workmen emigrated to France from the town of Tielt (Western Flanders).

Blanchard (1906) and Chatelain (1977) also examined this emigration towards France, particularly to the *Département du Nord*. They found that a large seasonal emigration flow towards it had organized itself in the period in question, and this temporary migration was considered to be a solution to the excessive population density of the Flanders territory. In addition, it is extremely probable that this emigration started well before 1846, and the economic and food crisis accentuated the movement. We know the importance of rumor and of collective perception in the initiation of a migration flow, as well as of the amplifying role of an information network. Lentacker (1956) noted that already in the 1851 census the populations of certain communes of the Lille suburbs had more than 40 percent Belgians.

But many other Flemish workmen went to Wallonia, as is suggested by the ten thousand persons who left Western Flanders between 1845 and 1850 towards another Belgian province (Jacquemyns 1929; Poulain and Foulon 1981). This figure did not include temporary migrants or those which, at that time, were not considered to be defining this movement. To understand this emigration towards Wallonia better, it is important to describe the attractiveness of Wallonia, particularly the Haine, Sambre, and Meuse valleys located from west to east between the Borinage and Liege. Here, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there began a huge industrial development based on coal mining and iron making, on the model of English industrial areas. Around Mons, La Louvière, Charleroi, and Liege--along the so-called *sillon Sambre-et-Meuse*--the extraction of coal proceeded apace, blast furnaces flowered, and economic development was unprecedentedly rapid. Labor force needs intensified, and all the surrounding countryside was emptied of available workers. Moreover, the crisis of 1846 did not create the same demographic repercussions as those observed in Flanders. These developments created two forces--one of repulsion in Flanders, and a second of attraction along the *sillon Sambre-et-Meuse*--producing the increased migration flows. Starting as temporary migrants and pioneers at the beginning, these flows became a definitive population transfers from Flanders toward France on the one hand, and toward Wallonia, on the other. Limburg, in the eastern part of Flanders, which was less populated at that time and consisted of marshy areas, took part in this migration movement later, in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

While migrants originating in the provinces of Western and Eastern Flanders had France as their destination, in Wallonia, the Hainault (which was closer), migrants from Limburg moved into the adjoining Liege province. After the First World War, the development of the Campine coal mines in Limburg area had the consequence of attaching Limburgers to their own area, while in the basins of Charleroi and Liege the coal mines sought Polish, Italian, and immigrants from other parts of Europe to help with economic revival. As Schepens (1973) explained, the First World War brought an important caesura for Flemish emigration.

Was the emigration towards Wallonia different than that towards France? Stengers (1978, p. 28) expressed himself clearly on this point when he stated: "For a Fleming to emigrate toward France was scarcely any different than to emigrate to the interior of Belgium. If the feeling of uprootedness accompanied a move to the north, this was not greater than the same feeling upon relocation to the area of Liege or Charleroi." We, therefore, conclude that the Flemish emigration toward France and toward Wallonia were both parts of an adjustment process to the changing demographic and economic situation, which included a crisis that would diminish in intensity only with the arrival of the twentieth century.

MEASURING THE FLEMISH EMIGRATION

The question is how to measure the importance of this Flemish emigration towards France and Wallonia, and how establish the chronology of these movements in numerical terms? "Numbers are impossible to obtain," exclaims Stengers (1978), referring to the first half of the nineteenth century. "This is a period of almost complete statistical confusion." Except for some systematic analysis of marriage and birth certificates in certain communes, the only sources giving an overall picture of the situation are censuses.

In France, the number of Belgians in the country was counted at the occasion of each decennial census. As Stengers (1978) shows, during all of the second half of the nineteenth century, Belgians were the most important group of foreigners in France. As a group, they were surpassed by the Italians only in 1901. Belgians reached 46 percent of the total foreign population in 1872 and about half a million persons in 1886 (Figure 2).

Belgians living in France favored of the Departement du Nord, which contained half of the total number, while the Parisian region contained about one tenth. The map shown in Figure 3 presents for each French departement in 1901 the proportion of Belgians compared to the total population (per 100,000 inhabitants). This distribution underlines the role of short-distance migrations, and clearly demonstrates the negative effect of distance on migration behavior.

Some factors important for understanding the spatial distribution of Belgians in France are described in the recent work of Petillon (1998) on Roubaix, in the Departement du Nord, a city that seemed like a Belgian colony; of Piette (1998), which deals with Belgian maidservants in Paris; and Woestenborghs (1998), which looks at the problem of Flemish seasonal workers in France.

In France, the most attractive place for Flemish emigrants was first of all the Departement du Nord, with its enormous need for manpower in the textile industry as well as in the coal mines. Among the 323,000 Belgians counted in France in 1901, more than 200,000 were living in the Departement du Nord, while another 28,000 lived in Paris (Statistique Generale de la France, Recensement general de la population au 24 mars 1901). Paris was attractive for more than one reason: it needed workers in the building trades and naval stores, and the 30-35,000 persons that constituted the Belgian

population of Paris in 1867 were mainly workmen in the most humble economic sectors until the rise of luxury industries. Finally, among the 28,000 Belgians living in Paris in 1901, more of the half were women working in domestic occupations. Schirmacher (1908, p. 73) explains that "Flemings were known for their tidiness, their good taste in household management, their hard work, their love of children, and, in certain instances, their Catholicism." The attractions of a large city for women in need of employment were undeniable, and parents often sent young girls as maidservant to the city to help provide for their own needs and even the needs of the whole family. For women, the rural exodus was the result of the combined force of different factors: the attraction of the city, the availability of transport, the overpopulation of the countryside, and the resulting poverty. Movement into the city to become a maidservant was relatively easy, and being a maidservant in Paris was more satisfactory than serving in a farm: the former promised greater success in the future. Moreover, there was also the important role of the rupture with the society or origin and with all family links. Side by side with the département du Nord, Paris was considered to be the miroir aux alouettes. But at the end of the nineteenth century one can note that Flanders was becoming less expulsive and France less attractive. Some Belgian emigrant populations experienced xenophobic incidents (Derainne 1998). As a consequence, the emigration flow decreased and the share of Belgians in the whole foreign population of France diminished; also, some of the Belgians became naturalized citizens, and were no longer visible as Belgians in the censuses.

Seasonal work had always occupied a special place in the population relations of Flanders and France. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, tens of thousands seasonal workers left annually from Flanders to go to France and to work there in farms and sugar refineries during certain periods of the year. Generally, they did not take up permanent residence in France, but because the movement did produce mixed marriages, this seasonal emigration did have as a byproduct some emigration that resulted in permanent residence. Also, numerous Belgian farmers-- almost exclusively Flemish--together with large families moved to France for permanent settlement. This type of migration started at the end of the nineteenth century, and grew at the beginning of the twentieth; after the First World War, these farmers were able to settle on farms emptied by the War. There were 15,000 of such persons in 1891, and 25,000 in 1927. In the beginning, they moved mainly to the northern part of France, but later they can also be found in Picardy, Oise, and Normandy.

Thus, the industrial emigrants in the North, the migrants who worked in domestic occupations and lesser jobs in Paris, and the farmers constitute the three components of the Belgian emigration in France.

As far as the question of origins of Belgian immigrants in France is concerned, only few data exist. Systematic examination of marriage registers shows that the departures towards the north of France came mainly from the provinces of Western and Eastern Flanders and the province of Hainault. In Flanders, the emigration is of rural origin, whereas in Hainault it is urban, and is linked to the economic crises in the industrial areas. The origins of Belgians married in Roubaix show a preponderance coming from the region of Kortrijk, but married immigrants are also numerous from the region of Ghent. Some others came from Sint-Niklaas and from the Antwerp metropolis. Thus, such information sources confirm that the Belgian emigration to France concerns primarily Flemings, particularly emigrants from rural areas of the Western and Eastern Flanders provinces. That, in turn, underlines the importance of Flanders' economic crisis around 1846 as an explanation of this emigration.

The kinds of data available for analyzing the Belgian (Flemish) emigration to France is not available for the Flemish emigration in Wallonia, which, though remembered, has never has been the subject of an inclusive and systematic study (Stengers 1978). Little statistical information is available, although a system of population registration was introduced in 1847 so that the Belgian population could be administratively monitored. The number of volumes that would have to be consulted is so large, however, that several years would be required for a research team to establish a precise chronology and show a detailed numerical distribution of the Flemish emigrants in Wallonia. Not until the census of 1930, which included the place of birth by arrondissement of residence, was there the opportunity of looking at the origins of the Flemish immigrants. The map in Figure 4 contains data about the people residing in the industrial arrondissement of Charleroi; it relates the number of persons living there and born in each Flemish arrondissements to the population living in each of these Flemish arrondissements 30 years before, in 1901. Two features characterize this distribution by birth arrondissement: the major role played by distance and proximity, which favors the closer arrondissement of Leuven, Aalst, Dendermonde, and Oudenaarde; and the relative weakness of the number of immigrants coming from the province of Limburg, by comparison with those coming from the more densely populated provinces of Western and Eastern Flanders.

These statistical data, however, are weak. This creates the context for showing how using the patronym can easily provide answers about the importance of these migratory movements and their population distribution they produced.

THE PATRONYM, AN INDICATOR FOR MAJOR MIGRATION FLOWS

The basic hypothesis is simple: the etymology of a patronym links the patronym to the linguistic area of its origin. Consequently, by choosing an appropriate set of patronyms, one should be able to create evidence about migratory movements by analyzing the distribution of the bearers of these patronyms. Another argument justifies the choice of the patronym as a migration indicator: the sheer number, diversity, and availability of nominative lists of surnames, produced from civil registers, population registers, electoral registers, or such sources as telephone directories, bank accounts, and distribution lists of electrical and water services.

To initiate the study of Flemish emigration we have chosen two groups or families bearing "marker" patronyms:

1. The patronyms beginning with the Dutch prefix VAN or VER: these represent more than 15 percent of the current Flemish population and more than 3 percent of the Walloon population--about 100,000 individuals. The origin of these patronyms is Flemish, and anthroponymists confirm that only some rare Walloon or French patronyms such as Vannier start with these letters. A Dutch origin of these persons is not excluded, but distance and the barrier of the national border reduce the number of immigrants from The Netherlands, in comparison with to those coming from Flanders.
2. A separate group of patronyms has been created by those that were most numerous in all Flemish communes on 31 December 1987. This choice means not only that the most current Flemish patronyms are retained in the pool, but also that specific patronyms are included that have been observed to be predominant in only one more communes. Finally, 143 patronyms were chosen, and these account for 650,000 persons in Flanders--or 11 percent of the Flemish population--and 71,000 persons in Wallonia, or 2.2 percent of the population.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FLEMISH PATRONYMS

In France, the frequency of each Flemish patronym was determined from INSEE data corresponding to the frequency of all patronyms related to all persons born in a French commune between 1891 and 1940 and still living in France in 1970. These frequencies have been aggregated for all 143 selected Flemish patronyms. The distribution of these frequencies is presented in Figure 5, in which all French department and Belgian provinces are considered together. Clearly, the frequency of Flemish patronyms decreases as the country is viewed from north to south, and their incidence is particularly low in the south-east area of France.

For Wallonia, the list of the patronyms of all nationals living in Belgium on the 31st December 1987 has been extracted from the National Register, with the number of carriers counted per province (11) and per commune (589) in places that have at least five carriers (as required by confidentiality restrictions). These very interesting data allow cartographic representation of the importance of Flemish patronyms in the Walloon population. Both groups of "marker" patronyms give the same results in relative terms, and the map presented in Figure 6 shows the spatial distribution of the percentage of patronyms with VAN and VER prefixes among all the Belgian nationals on the selected date.

Three features stand out on this map:

1. The effect of the distance has reduced the share of "Flemish" patronyms from approximately 10 percent at the edge of the linguistic border to less than half a percent in Gaume and Belgian Lorraine in the south of the country. To describe the impact of distance, we can use a mathematical model based on the Pareto law. The estimate of the parameters makes it possible to simplify this dependence on distance to the statement that when the distance to the linguistic border with Flanders increases by a factor of four, the share of the Flemish patronyms decreases by a factor of two.
2. Independently of the dependence with distance, most industrial communes with coal mines present a higher proportion of Flemish patronyms, which is evidence of the initial cause of these migrations more than one century ago.
3. Finally, certain rural communes of the Condroz, south of the sillon Sambreet-Meuse, also contain more Flemish patronyms than would have been predicted in terms of their distance from Flanders. This is a direct effect of the aging of the Walloon population, particularly the population employed in agriculture; it represents the movement into vacant agricultural holdings by young Flemish farmers who cannot find a land in Flanders--an initiative supported by Flemish agricultural associations.

The specific origin of the Flemish immigrants is not well known. Considering the distribution of the population by place of birth in the 1930 census, it is clear that emigrants from Limburg preferred to move to the industrial basin around Liege, while the emigrants from the provinces of Western and Eastern Flanders chose as their destination the industrial regions of Hainault. Migrants from the region of Leuven and Diest, which are located at equal distances from the two basins of Liege and Charleroi, have obviously preferred Charleroi, following the new railway line established between Leuven and Charleroi.

Comparing the similarity of the patronyms in the different Flemish regions (East--Limburg as such in

the center Brabant with the province of Antwerp; and West--both Western and Eastern Flanders considered together) and the Walloon regions (East, the province of Liege as such, in the center; the provinces of Brabant Wallon, Namur, and Luxembourg; and West, the Hainault), one can use the series of 143 "markers" patronyms and the coefficients of the matrix of the isonymy.

SPACE-TIME DYNAMICS

The distribution of the patronyms has to be considered simultaneously in time and in space. The civil registers and, more specifically, the birth register, make it possible to temporally follow the relative importance of the Flemish patronyms in a given place. The town of Tournai, situated west of Hainault about 20 kilometers from the Flanders border, has been chosen to follow the evolution of the Flemish emigration since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Figure 7 compares the evolution on the part of the newborns with a patronym beginning by the Flemish prefixes VAN and VER with newborns whose surname begins with the French prefix LE. The proportion of LE and the number of French patronyms are particularly stable, while the share of Flemish patronyms increases during all the nineteenth century and become stable after the First World War.

The comparison between the evolution of Flemish patronyms in Tournai and in some industrial communes (Chatelet, Chatelineau, and Bouffioulx near Charleroi, Saint-Nicolas, and Tilleur near Liege) shows similarities that fall into three separate phases (Figure 8):

1. A regular and sustained increase until the end of the First World War, with a higher slope for the industrial communes, compared to Tournai, situated closer to the linguistic border. During the whole nineteenth century until the War, successive cohorts of Flemish migrants arrived in industrial Wallonia and enlarged the Flemish population already living in these communes.
2. A short period of stagnation corresponding to the end of the migration, but also to an integration phase characterized by numerous mixed marriages between indigenous persons and "Flemish immigrants."
3. A slow decline of the share of Flemish patronyms can be observed thereafter, particularly after the Second World War. This phase is the result of a redistribution of the Flemish immigrants' descendants in the communes adjoining to those to which they or their parents immigrated. Moreover, this redistribution process fits into the suburbanization process and the urban exodus that has marked the Walloon population since the year 1960.

The comparison of the proportion of patronyms with the VAN and VER prefixes in the different communes of the arrondissement of Liege in the 1947 census, and in the same communes 40 years later (1987), confirms what is known about the reduction in the urban and industrial communes and an increase in the suburban areas. These conclusions demonstrate the full potential of patronyms as indicators of migratory movements.

All in all, the share of Flemish patronyms increased between 1947 and 1987 (from 2.15 percent to 2.25 percent for the whole arrondissement de Liege). However, spatially speaking, this proportion decreased in cities and industrial communes such as Liege, Seraing, Tilleur, and Herstal, while it increased in most of suburban communes. The redistribution process of the Flemish immigrants' descendants is clearly summarized by the huge decrease of the variation coefficient between all communes, from 54 percent in 1947 to 34 percent 40 years later.

MAP: FIGURE 1 Map of Belgium Showing the Situation of the Flanders Compared to Wallonia and France

MAP: FIGURE 3 The Proportion of Belgians in the Total Population in French Departements (1901 Census) (per 100,000 inhabitants)

MAP: FIGURE 4 Relative Number of Persons Living in the Arrondissement of Charleroi in 1930 According to the Different Birth Arrondissements in Flanders (I.N.S. 1930 Census)

MAP: FIGURE 5 The Distribution of Flemish Emigrants in France and Belgium According to Patryms (per 100,000 of the Population).

MAP: FIGURE 6 The Proportion of Flemish Patryms with VAN and VER Prefixes in the Population of the Walloon Communes in 1987 (from INS--National Register) (in percent)

GRAPH: FIGURE 2 The Evolution of the Foreign Population in France between 1872 and 1901 (1901 Census)

GRAPH: FIGURE 7 The Evolution of the Share of New-Born with a Flemish Patrym (with prefixes VAN or VER) Compared to Those with a French Patrym (with prefix LE) for the City of Tournai (Wallonia) Between 1823 and 1950 (Birth registers, City of Tournai) (figures are given per thousand)

GRAPH: FIGURE 8 The Evolution of the Share of New-Born with a Flemish Patrym (with prefixes VAN or VER) for the City of Tournai (Wallonia) Compared with Some Industrial Communes Around Charleroi and Liege Between 1823 and 1950 (Birth Registers) (figures are given per thousand)

REFERENCES

Blanchard, R. 1906. *La Flandre, etude geographique de la Plaine Flamande en France, Belgique et Hollande, Dunkerque.*

Chatelain, A. 1977. *Les Migrants Temporaires en France de 1800 a 1914.* Lille: Publications de l'Universite de Lille.

Derainne, P.J. 1998. "L'hostilite aux ouvriers belges en France au XIX[supe] siecle." Pp. 101-114 in *Les Emigrants Belges*, edited by A. Morelli. Bruxelles: EVO-HISTOIRE.

I.N.S. 1930. *Recensement de la Population au 31 Decembre 1930.*

Jacquemyns, G. 1929. *Histoire de la Crise Economique des Flandres (1845-1850)*, Academie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Memoires, t. XXVI, fasc. 1, Bruxelles.

Kitell, A.H. 1967. "The Revolutionary Period of the Industrial Revolution: Industrial Innovation and Population Displacement in Belgium, 1830-1880." *Journal of Social History*. Pp. 119-148.

Lentacker, F. 1956. "Les Ouvriers Beiges dans le Departement du Nord au Milieu du XIXe Siecle." *Revue du Nord* 38(149): 5-14.

Petillon, Ch. 1998. "Roubaix, une 'Colonie' Belge." Pp. 59-78 in *Les Emigrants Beiges*, edited by A. Morelli. Bruxelles: EVO-HISTOIRE.

Piette, V. 1998. "Les Servantes Belges a Paris." Pp. 79-100 in Les Emigrants Beiges, edited by A. Morelli. Bruxelles: EVO-HISTOIRE.

Poulain, M., and M. Foulon. 1981. "L'Immigration Flamande en Wallonie: Evaluation a l'Aide d'un Indicateur Anthroponymique." Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine 12(1-2): 205-244.

Schepens, L. 1973. Van Vlaskuter tot Franschman, bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Westvlaamse plattelandsbevolking in de negentiende eeuw, Brugge.

Schirmacker, K. 1908. La specialisation du traisil par nationalite a Paris. Arthur Rousseau, Paris.

Stengers, J. 1978. Emigration et Immigration en Belgique au XIXe et au XXe Siecles. Brussels: Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques.

Woestenborghs, B. 1998. "Les Travailleurs Saisonniers Flamands en France de 1870 h 1970." Pp. 205-224 in Les Emigrants Belges, edited by A. Morelli. Brussels: EVO-HISTOIRE.

~~~~~

By Michel Poulain; Michel Foulon, Michel Poulain and Michel Foulon are researchers in the Centre d'etude de Gestion Demographique pour les Administrations Publiques, Universite Catholique de Louvain 1, Place Montesquieu, Boite 7, B 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.; Anna Degioanni and Pierre Darlu, Anna Degioanni and Pierre Darlu are researchers at INSERM U155, Universite de Paris VII 2. Place Jussieu, F, 75251, Paris, France.

---

Copyright of History of the Family (Elsevier Science) is the property of Elsevier Science and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.